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ADDRESSES

AT THE

BANQUET TENDERED TO

His Excellency CALVIN COOLIDGE

GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN HONOR OF HIS NOMINATION

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

AT

HOTEL SOMERSET, BOSTON

AUGUST 12, 1920

BY THE

Republican Club of Massachusetts



HIS EXCELLENCY CALVIN COOLIDGE
Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY HON. GEORGE H. ELLIS

President of The Republican Club of Massachusetts

On behalf of the Republican Club of Massachusetts, I welcome you here this evening. This banquet was planned to give expression to our satisfaction with the honor done Massachusetts in the nomination of Vice President and to pay our tribute to the nominee.

I wish especially to welcome the women to the first meeting of the Club which I think they have ever attended. I do this the more willingly, and the more warmly because for seven years in the Massachusetts Legislature I consistently, perhaps you would say persistently, opposed woman suffrage. It is now practically with us and I join hands heartily with you to make it a success.

At the opening of the Massachusetts Legislature of 1914 the President of the Senate struck a note new to the politics of this generation, but that note has since been so often struck that it has become familiar the country over.

This Club was first to publicly propose the man who struck that note for nomination for President, but this was not to be.

We have with us this evening the man who nominated him for Vice-President and I am going to ask him to tell us why Oregon stretched hands across the continent to join with us, and as by general acclamation with the whole country, in nominating Calvin Coolidge.

ADDRESS BY HON. WALLACE McCAMANT

Of Portland, Oregon

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Republican Club of Massachusetts:

Since I reached your city yesterday morning the evidences of your good will have been overwhelming. It is pleasant to be a shining light for a few days. I am mindful that I shine with a reflected light. I am a planet, not a fixed star, but I am a planet in a solar system whose sun is a star of the first magnitude.

I am greatly in your debt for the courteous invitation to meet with you

this evening, for the generous welcome you have given me and for your cordial hospitality. I wish I could make you know the pleasure I feel in being with you and in having a part in this auspicious occasion.

I have come a long way to tell you of the honor in which your great Governor is held where rolls the Oregon.

Our presentation of his name at the republican national convention was spontaneous. The subject had not been discussed by the members of our dele-

gation nor was it in our thoughts until the moment when we acted. It is nevertheless true that our action was representative of the overwhelming sentiment of our people and that action has been enthusiastically approved in all parts of our commonwealth.

Governor Coolidge has never set foot in Oregon. He is personally acquainted with only a handful of our people. No member of the Oregon delegation to the national convention had ever met him. What then is the secret of his great popularity in a state so remote from the region in which he has lived and wrought?

The characteristics of every community are indelibly written upon it by its early settlers. A tide of later immigration has submerged the founders of Boston, Philadelphia and New Orleans. The descendants of the Puritans are now a minority of the population of Boston; the Quakers who came with William Penn have long since ceased to be the dominant ethnic strain in the population of Philadelphia; the French and their descendants are largely outnumbered in New Orleans. Yet so long as these cities endure, they will bear the stamp of the Puritan, the Quaker and the Creole. The thought of the people of each city will continue to run along lines mapped out for them by generations which have passed away.

This principle has a pertinent application to the people of Oregon. We are but one generation removed from the founders of our state. The spirit of our founders is powerful in Oregon. Their ideals are a well recognized force.

Our state was peopled by men and women who trekked in ox-teams two thousand miles across the plains. They

were not gold-seekers but home-builders. Their immigration is unique in human history. Other regions have been settled by the gradual extension of the farming territory. But when Oregon was settled there was no stopping place from the Missouri River to the Willamette Valley. No weakling ever made that journey. Nor did the hardships of the settlers cease when they reached their destination. The soil was fertile and the country was beautiful to the eye, but it was remote from the marts of industry. There were no comforts save such as the pioneers themselves could create. The forests were inhabited by wild beasts and the savage Indian was an insistent problem. The men and women who came to Oregon before the days of railroads were and had to be forceful, capable, self-reliant and courageous. In such a population the manly virtues are highly esteemed. This was true in pioneer times and it is still true. Our people are quick to sense and ready to admire a real man.

When the wires flashed across the continent Governor Coolidge's ringing message at the time of the policemen's strike, his words struck a responsive chord in the breast of every typical Oregonian. The word passed from man to man that Massachusetts had a leader who was true to the best traditions of the old historic commonwealth, one quick to see his duty and ready to hew to the line though the heavens should fall.

We are quite familiar with the type of politician whose ear is to the ground. We have men among us who obey the behests of the labor unions, be they right or wrong. But we like to see in places of power leaders rather than fol-

lowers, thinkers rather than imitators. Nowhere in the union was Governor Coolidge's manful course more emphatically approved than in the good state of Oregon.

Moreover our people are thorough Americans. The frontier has been the melting pot in which throughout our history provincialism has been fused into nationalism. The first love of the frontiersman has always been for flag and country.

The Oregon country became a part of the union not through the diplomatic activities of the State Department, but through the fortitude and determination of real Americans who took actual possession.

Let there be light in the western wilds
The spirit of progress said,
And thousands followed the devious paths
Where the sturdy woodsmen led.

They crossed the mountains beetling crags
And the deserts brown and bare
And on the shores of that western main
They planted the old flag there.

As the blue of the sky and the blue of the wave
Mingle and blend in the sea,
It mingled its colors with those of the wave
To herald the march of the free.

And the echoing thud of the woodsman's axe
And the roar of his trusty gun
Told in a voice that woke up the woods
How that western land was won.

The descendants and the successors of the men who won that great domain for our country are loyal to flag and to constitution. Nowhere is there more sterling devotion to the best ideals of American citizenship or more whole-hearted veneration for our heroic past than in the valleys of the Willowa, the Umatilla, the Umpqua and the Willamette.

It was not an accident that Oregon led the union in volunteer enlistments

at the outbreak of the world-war. That splendid spirit of consecration in which our young manhood sprang to the defence of imperilled civilization was but the fruition of the history and life of our people.

Our war governor, the late James Withycombe, was the peer of any chief executive in the union in his whole-hearted loyalty to the good cause. Like other parts of the union we have our incendiary elements, but the overwhelming sentiment of the people of Oregon regards this government which has come down to us from the fathers as beyond all price.

Our people realize that Governor Coolidge is a champion of the Americanism to which we are attached; that he is no respecter of persons; that he believes in the equality of all men before the law and in the duty of all men to obey the law; that he regards the right of private property as one of the bulwarks of civilization; that the bill of rights engrafted on our federal constitution is in his opinion the richest political heritage which any people has ever enjoyed. They know that in the great testing time through which we have passed, his record was one of unhesitating loyalty to the cause of international righteousness. The reading of his Flag Day proclamation of 1919 will make the heart beat faster in every American whose blood is red. Some of us who have read his magnificent speech delivered at Lynnfield, in September, 1918, are willing to endow him with all of the power which under the constitution can be given to any American.

It has been but a short time since the men of Britain, France and America stood shoulder to shoulder on a common battle line. They were united by

a common danger and they wrought valiantly together for the preservation of civilization. Governor Coolidge is one of those who believe in perpetuating the comradeship growing out of the heroic times through which we have passed. His attitude is one of hearty good-will for those who shared with us the danger, the burden and the deliverance.

There is a saving grace in a republic in the ability of the people to recognize their natural leaders. Such men as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Abraham Lincoln and William McKinley have had a multitude of followers who could give no reason for the faith that was in them. Yet they trusted and supported these leaders and thus made possible their rich public service.

Even so have the people of Oregon sensed the worth of Governor Coolidge. But few of our people have read his speeches. Yet they know that he is sound, true, brave and trustworthy.

In the middle of the last century when Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, John Greenleaf Whittier and Harriet Beecher Stowe attacked the institution of human slavery, they voiced the conscience of Carver, Bradford and Winthrop.

When the Oregon delegation at the republican national convention proposed the name of Calvin Coolidge, they spoke for a generation of clear thinking men and women who achieved great things for faith, for freedom and for civilization. They spoke particularly for a band of true-hearted Americans who in May, 1843, at Champocg, Oregon, established the first free government on the Pacific.

There is one more chapter to my story. In the state of Oregon there

are many who yield fealty to the great party in whose name we are assembled tonight. They are the men and women of conscience and of character in our several communities. They know the story of republican achievement; slavery suppressed; the union saved; the homestead law and the mineral entry law under which the untilled prairie and the mountain waste have been converted into prosperous commonwealths; the protective system which has made us industrially independent and which has bound together all parts of the republic by the strong ties of commercial intercourse; in the great world-war the most magnificent spectacle of self-effacing devotion to the cause and country ever exhibited by an opposition party in all the history of representative government.

These men and women know that the republican party today is the citadel of patriotism and the refuge of common sense.

They are drawn to Governor Coolidge because his devotion to the republican party is a part of his religion, because he has been loyal and steadfast in his service of the party and because he is representative of its best thought and purpose. He was born and reared in the state which has been more staunch than any other in its support of republican candidates and republican principles, and he is leader of the party in this great commonwealth which has contributed so largely to its strength and its glory.

Some of us are very weary with these self-serving politicians who have stolen the livery of the republican party, but who have never accepted its creed; these men who vote the republican ticket when they name the ticket,

but not otherwise; these men who look only to their own emolument, never to the success and welfare of the party. Leadership in the party belongs of right to those who are loyal through good report and ill. Honor is due only to the outward-looking, never to the self-centered.

Our lot has fallen on times when nothing is taken for granted, when every dogma in politics, sociology, philosophy and religion is subject to attack; when multitudes believe that whatever is, is wrong. Public opinion is more plastic and impressionable than at any other time since the fall of the Roman Empire. Yet the principles of the Declaration of Independence and of our federal constitution are true and sound today as they were thirteen decades ago. Truth is eternal and the political principles of the founders of the republic are eternally true. These great documents are still the chart by which the ship of state should steer.

"Back to the Constitution" is the battle-cry of the party in this cam-

paign. The legislative and judicial branches of the government must not be overshadowed by the executive. The president must not be an autocrat, but the chief magistrate of a free people, approachable and amenable to suggestion and advice.

It was the intent of the framers of the constitution that the Vice President should be a man of presidential calibre and that he should play a real part in the government of the country. One of the best things which Senator Harding has said since his nomination is that the Vice President shall be a member of the executive family, that he shall attend cabinet meetings and be an adviser of the President.

Oregon rejoices with Massachusetts that our nominee for Vice President is worthy to lead our great party; that he is a man of full stature, qualified in all respects for the trust he will administer after the 4th of March; Oregon gave him her ten votes in the convention and she will give him her five votes in the electoral college.

ADDRESS BY FORMER GOVERNOR CHARLES S. WHITMAN

Of New York City

Not all of the principles, tenets or beliefs of a great political party are contained or set forth in platforms, letters of acceptance or public speeches. The principles and purposes of a political organization are best read in the character of the men whom it supports, —in the persons of the candidates whom it presents for great public office.

It is not my purpose tonight to discuss the issues of the national campaign. I fancy that I can notice a sigh of relief at this announcement. Let us turn from a discussion of facts

and figures to the consideration of the men whom the party to which we belong has called to embody and represent before the American people and before the world, all that Republicanism, and in fact Americanism has meant and means today.

Foreign critics have sometimes found a difficulty in understanding the position and the place of the Republican Party in the life of the Nation; a difficulty which has not confronted them in studying the history and development of the Democratic Party. It seems

strange to many that the Republican Party should be described, as it often has been,—sometimes truthfully and sometimes otherwise, as the conservative party. While it has been true to a striking degree that its conspicuous leaders have been trained from their boyhood in a school which does not generally tend to develop conservatism, as the term is generally used.

The life of a rail-splitter, studying by the light of a flaming pine-knot, fighting every inch of his way even for the necessities of life, for himself and his dependants, would not seem naturally to create in any one's mind a tendency to be reactionary or to regard place, property, position or power as inviolate or sacred.

The training of the towpath and all the self sacrifice and self denial involved in the drudgery of boyhood's days, is not likely, it would seem, to create an overwhelming regard for conditions which give the children of the wealthy and the well-to-do, advantages impossible for the poor to obtain.

I might continue to cite illustration after illustration to the effect that the great leaders of the party that is sometimes derisively called by its opponents "the party of property" have been men who in themselves have represented something of the simplicity of the son of Nancy Hanks and who have almost invariably represented in themselves, not the wealth of America's splendid material resources, but our country's infinitely greater possession, her wealth of splendid manhood.

God grant that the time may never come when the Republican Party shall lack what has been styled as "character plus." Character plus a strong belief

in American institutions and in the faith of our fathers.

We are particularly fortunate today in our standard bearers. Men whose lives, whose thoughts and whose minds are cast in a mould that has produced our greatest statesmen,—our most useful public servants.

I read with much interest Senator Harding's recent statement—"You know I am no genius"—those words have something of Lincoln in them. How like "I do not claim to have controlled events." He is not a genius he says, but he has made his own way from the position of humblest employment as a boy to be by the people's choice the ambassador of a sovereign state in the National Senate. He doesn't think ~~he~~ is a genius, but he is the choice of a great, and I believe the dominant party in the country, to represent to all the world the best that there is in the greatest nation that the sun shines on and as we contemplate the work and the result of the work of some men in public station who in some lines are concededly geniuses, we are thankful that our candidate, in his own mind, at least, is not a genius.

I take it that on account of the personal element necessarily present in a gathering of this kind, I have been asked to appear as one who may know something of the earlier days and the formative period of the life of the man whom Massachusetts and indeed all of our people delight to honor. I have been interested and somewhat surprised at the work of some of his biographers. I wasn't in college with Calvin Coolidge—he is too young for that—but I have been so closely associated with our common Alma Mater, that I know all about him and in common with

many of the alumni of the little college nestling among the hills of Massachusetts, rejoice in honoring him. I have seen recently the apparent effort made in certain quarters to represent him in his college days as something other than a normal American boy. Even the keen-eyed members of the faculty, who knew everything there was to know, didn't discern in this quiet, undemonstrative, good-mannered country boy, the future president of the United States. At least if they did, they didn't say so until last year. He wasn't the saint that some of his biographers represent. He wasn't the prodigy that others claim, and he wasn't the owl-like prig which some of his over zealous supporters would have the reading public believe. Slowly, steadily, quietly, gradually, surely, like the great men who have gone before him, with the splendid equipment of inherited health and vigor and intellect and integrity, he has risen because he has deserved to rise.

There never was a more spontaneous and to a degree unexpected event in any great convention than was his nomination in Chicago. Although other plans appealed to so-called convention leaders, the people of the nation spoke through the lips of a thousand delegates and he was nominated because he was the honest choice.

It is difficult now to measure the influence of comparatively recent evolutions or manifestations upon the character and disposition of the masses of our people. The Great World War has unbalanced every phase of life,—has changed habits,—has shifted boundaries and possessions, has altered allegiance and has shaken beliefs. However, one of the direct and obtrusive consequences of the World War has

been the creation of a plethora of wealth, as that term is used in its colloquial significance. The facility with which the new wealth has been created and acquired, and the suddenness with which many have been overwhelmed by it, have begotten an extravagance and recklessness that has almost run riot. Sudden wealth in unaccustomed hands is not always a blessing to the possessor or to the world. In the minds of some it has almost seemed that the belief exists that money can buy anything. Social aspirations may or may not have been satisfied through the newly acquired means,—that phase is not of vital importance any way. Human ambition or avarice are not usually thus satiated. "Power" has ever had an alluring attraction to men, and with it there was the lurking danger of human weakness in that the possession of power begets a desire for more. And the power sometimes exercised in this country even in public or political matters, is not the power of knowledge, or experience or ability, but the power of money.

In the nomination of Calvin Coolidge we see the triumph of the right kind of power, with its moral influence, its force of intelligence, its capacity of leadership over sinister aspirations for sordid ends.

Those of us who imbibed the spirit of the New England college rejoice that Calvin Coolidge has become a leader in this kind of struggle.

In his mental and moral equipment,—in his character and habits,—in his career and achievements, and in his espousals, he exemplifies the fundamentals, ideals and traditions of the New England in which he was born, which he has served so nobly, and which has so singularly honored him.

ADDRESS BY MRS. ALEXANDRA CARLISLE PFEIFFER

Of Lexington, Mass.

There are a thousand reasons why women should belong to the grand old party but for my part I can think of only one tonight. The Republican party can boast of the most practical, whole-hearted, honest American patriot, Governor Calvin Coolidge.

I, like millions of other women, am faced with new responsibilities, a new world, practical politics. What must be our attitude—that there may be only added strength and not conflicting confusion—that women may still be as feminine as our great grandmothers and yet give the benefit of the progression that the years have given them—that homes and children shall benefit and not suffer?

We must bring a spirit of construction, not of destruction, of co-operation, not opposition.

A woman's primal instinct is maternal and she must mother her country.

Our country is one big family. It has been man-handled, fathered and bossed, until it needs the gentler but firm voice of all the mothers in the United States to stop the family quarrel.

Women have been politicians since the world began.

It was a woman who made the first stars and stripes of America, and women have served it faithfully and untiringly. They have given their sons to fight for it with a hallowed spirit of sacrifice. In choosing the head of their

big household they will seek for the fearless but safe man who in peaceful days has "Modest stillness and civility," but in threatened trouble, be it in the family or with the neighbors, has a mailed fist and not a palsied arm to deal with the offender.

They must realize as men must realize, that the government of this country is a reflection of what we as individuals put into it. We must cease putting in the minimum amount of interest and service and expecting the maximum amount of profit and comfortable living.

I believe it is in the homes that politics are going to be decided in the future.

Children will learn them at their mother's knee—the place where we first learn to love our country. What better place could we find to learn how to govern it? At last the education of our future citizens is falling into the right hands, the mothers of America, and these future citizens will benefit by women's advancement.

On this basis, I have only the highest hopes from women entering into politics.

The Republican Party need have no fears as long as it has the association of men like Governor Coolidge. He is known in every home throughout the country. He is normal in his progressiveness. He is not a fanatic. He believes in building solid foundations before propping up the chimney to see if

the smoke will come through. He is
the man we have been looking for.

And one man in a thousand Solomon says.
Will stick more close than a brother,
So it is worth while seeking him all your days
If you find him before the other.
Nine hundred and ninety-nine depend
On what the world sees in you
But the thousandth man will stand your friend
With the whole round world agin you.

'Tis not the promise of prayer or praise
Will settle the finding for 'ee;
Nine hundred and ninety-nine of them go
By your looks, your acts, or your glory;
But if you find him and he finds you
The rest of the world don't matter,
For the thousandth man will sink or swim
With you in any water.

You can use his purse with no more thought
Than he uses yours for his spendings;
You can laugh and meet in your daily walks
With never a thought of your lendings.
Nine hundred and ninety-nine of them call
For silver and gold in their dealings
But the thousandth man is worth them all
Because you can show him your feelings;

His right,—your right—his wrong,—your wrong
In season and out of season.
So stand up and back him with all your might
With that for your only reason.
Nine hundred and ninety-nine can't stand
The mocking, the shame, the laughter.
But the thousandth man will stand by your
side
Till the gallows fall—and after.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Republi-
can Party's thousandth man—Governor
Calvin Coolidge.

President Ellis :

I presume you have all read, and re-read, and I hope you have read again
tonight, that splendid prayer of Dr. Holland's printed on the last page of the
menu—"God Give Us Men." I present to you now one answer to that prayer—
Governor Coolidge.

ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY CALVIN COOLIDGE

Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

*Mr. President, Fellow Members and
Guests of the Republican Club of
Massachusetts:*

So many reasons have just been
brought to my attention why I should
feel grateful that I can only mention
a few of them.

I am grateful to my friends of the
Massachusetts Delegation at Chicago
because at my request they refrained
from presenting my name for nomina-
tion to the office which came to me. I
would not be understood by that as
being any the less grateful to Judge
McCamant. He was doing the best he
knew. After hearing his story of Mr.

Webster I feel it was fortunate that I
did not attend the convention and after
becoming so deeply impressed with
the ability and judicial temperament of
the Judge I am coming more and more
to doubt whether he made any mistake.
But whatever may result from his ac-
tion there I am deeply and sincerely
grateful for his presence here. He
speaks our language and he thinks
our thoughts. In him Massachusetts
and Oregon are one.

My gratitude to Mrs. Pfeiffer is
slightly tinged with envy. The reports
from the Convention indicate to me
that when the opportunity recurred to

second my nomination under Judge McCamant delegates sprang up all over the hall to make that effort because Mrs. Pfeiffer had made seconding my nomination so popular.

To this veteran of the work of governing a State, Judge Whitman, I am also grateful, especially for his undertaking to continue my college education.

This is a Republican Club. Being that, it puts above partisanship, patriotism, and above love of office, love of country. But it is composed of men who believe profoundly in Republican principles, and so believing have organized this club that those principles might be the more worthily administered by worthy men. It stands not only for the best party, but for the best in that party, and the fixed determination to cause these to be, and remain the best. It is not confined to the trade of electing candidates, but by holding up high ideals, by sound platforms and by wise nominations, it has chosen to administer over to the domain of the public welfare. To work with this club is a mark of high citizenship. To be honored by it is a distinction not surpassed by any other private honors to be bestowed by my fellow citizens.

You have a right, nay, you owe to yourselves the duty to glory in the names and achievements of your party. History is given to us for enlightenment and inspiration. There lie the landmarks which mark the direction of true progress. We must look to the past for guidance, but to ourselves for success. Those who will not look backward cannot move forward. To despise the past is to destroy the future. We make no apology for the affection in

which we hold the great names of those who have established and supported the principles which our party maintains from Washington to Roosevelt, whether they be statesman like Lincoln or soldier like Grant, or for the reverence with which we contemplate the ancient institutions of our country, the declaration of all her liberties, her constitution and her laws. They are not safe counsellors of the people, or worthy to be entrusted with great power, who lack a due appreciation of the great men and great principles which have made this nation. It is not in a desire for constant change, but satisfaction in the contemplation of established truth, as well as unyielding effort for improvement, that character in men and parties is revealed. To destroy faith in what men have done is to destroy faith in men. The Republican Party believes in men because it has seen their good works, and in that faith, disregarding selfishness, relying on duty, it will continue.

But you are more than a Republican Club, you are the Republican Club of Massachusetts. For Massachusetts is a word that modifies not by decreasing but by increasing. It is not an area. It is an idea. It is not sectional. It belongs to the nation. Its meaning has not lacked recognition and adoption throughout the earth. It is as universal in its application as truth.

No one can think of Massachusetts politically, without quickly coming to fundamental principles and glorious history. The Great Admiral Columbus gave to civilization half a world of sea and land, but sea and land was all. He sought for the riches of the East. He found the riches of the West. He proved the earth a globe. He gave to

man more territory, more power, but no new idea, no new estate, no priceless heritage, no inalienable right.

These achievements were reserved for the Pilgrims of the Mayflower. They came not for riches but for the aspirations of the soul. When they landed at Plymouth they brought in embryo, unconsciously, but none the less effectively, whole commonwealths, and whole nations, and the institutions which since have flourished and encompassed the earth.

In the Mayflower Compact, dated November 11, 1620, old style, a day rededicated to human rights by the great nations of the earth as Armistice Day in 1918, there was not only adopted a written Constitution, the first of modern times, but there was therein set out in practice the doctrine of equality and the consent of the governed, which later made the Declaration of Independence immortal, and the recognition by solemn covenant of the duty of obedience to law. When Massachusetts was founded it was as a miniature modern democratic state. The results which have flowed from that conception are known to all men. In power and in achievement no other conception of government compares with it. It stands alone. It has no comparison. From the ends of the earth men have turned to that principle, when they have sought relief, from tyranny and despotism, in self government, and in the reign of liberty guaranteed by constitution and law.

All this was not achieved, perhaps not fully understood by the men of this Commonwealth in 1920. It has been the result of development wrought by much sacrifice and the end is not yet. It means something to be a

Massachusetts Republican Club. There is a background of traditions and principles which have changed the course of history and given a new and more glorious meaning to human existence. There is enough and to spare in her beginnings to indicate this without need of amplifying it by reciting the course of her history.

There are two great methods of testing all truth. One is to see if it squares with reason. Does it satisfy the conscience? The other is to prove it by trial. We look more particularly to the latter for political wisdom. To apply the test of reason it must be certain that all facts are known. This is nearly impossible in political life. Here by necessity we do and must rely to a large extent on experience. But tested by both reason and experience, as a principle and as a record the institutions laid down and developed from the Massachusetts beginning have brought to mankind a higher state of civilization, a material and a spiritual welfare that can scarcely be accounted for save as the unfolding of a great destiny. Is it not well then to study these results, to ponder their meaning, to observe whither they point, to remember the certainty of achievement which they promise, before they are discarded for experiments, which have nothing to commend them as instruments of government and of civilization, save only the ruin they had wrought? What then are some of the teachings that flow from this greatest of human achievements which we call America as we trace its advance from Plymouth Rock?

Our land is inhabited by Pilgrims and their sons. Some came here three hundred years ago, some came yester-

day. What has been the first characteristic of their success? There is but one answer to this, the determination to live according to their times under liberty with constitutional guarantees, freedom, order and law.

What then should be the course of the Pilgrims of today? Let them abide by the law. Let them by means of citizenship, subscribe to that larger compact, the Constitution of the nation, that they may find under it protection, and render to it and the laws made in accordance with it, a strict obedience, that they may no longer be alien, but come to a realization that the law is their law speaking with their voice.

But why support the Constitution? There is the same answer, reason and experience. Because it provides for an executive whose duty it is to enforce the laws. Because it establishes representative government, a form under which, so long as it is faithfully maintained, liberty has never failed in all history. Because it provides for an independent judiciary, as impartial as can be administered by finite beings, where the rights of citizens are determined without favor, and without fear, solely on their merits. To the glory of the Republican Party it has defended representative government, because it loves freedom, and it has defended the integrity of the courts because it loves justice.

I know of no time when it has been necessary to defend the office of the executive against usurpers. Certainly that service is not now required of our party. But it is desirable to restore our government to a more even balance. Representative government ceases to represent when its decisions reflect any opinion but its own, or result from any

influence, high or low, under whatever guise or name, whether of property or men, save a desire to promote the public welfare, in accordance with a decision arrived at by considering all the evidence. It is not enough that we have Representatives and Senators in name, they must be so in fact, and known to be so of all men. There is need of a strong executive. I can see no danger that the people are ever likely to choose a weak one. But there is need of a correspondingly strong Congress. And the greatest need of all is that each should co-operate with the other, functioning according to the Constitution, by each performing the duties assigned by the law. That is constitutional government. For it a free people can accept no substitute. To its establishment and maintenance the Republican Party stands pledged.

The first thought of the founders was to put their own house in order. They had cut loose from all that bound them to any other people. It is well to remember that. We are Americans. Whatever we accomplish must be as Americans. The instrument of that accomplishment must be America. It is the part then not only of wisdom, but the course of absolute necessity, that this nation build up in every way its internal strength. If that fails there is no hope, for there is no substitute.

The first American enterprise for public betterment, on the civil side, was the schoolhouse. Education lies at the beginning of all hope of advancement. We are too prone to take for granted that all our citizens, because of the public school, are educated. Such is far from the case. Millions are not only uneducated but are illiterate. There is no vaster problem

of social improvement than the fundamental question of education. We have our public schools and state universities, committees, boards and commissions but the needs of education not only have not been met, they have not yet been adequately stated. The requirements are simply stupendous. We have only made a beginning. There is a larger need for education than ever before and out of our abounding resources that need must be met.

We need a broader education, not merely of the understanding, but of the sympathies and the sentiments. It is idle to give power with no disposition for its correct use. When the problem of education is properly solved most social problems will vanish. Our party must continue dedicated to a full enlightenment of the people.

We shall search the records in vain for much evidence of parties. But we of necessity live under a party form of government. It may not have been the ideal of Washington and the Fathers who described parties as factions and warned against their excessive activities in public affairs. But there are no other methods by which public affairs could now be accomplished. But there is a broad distinction between party organization and bigoted partisanship. One is an appeal to the people, the other is an appeal to a class generally described as professional politicians. The result obtained is the same, whether the motive be the maintenance of a political ring, or the satisfying of narrow personal animosities. This result is the spirit of faction feared by Washington. Parties represent the people, not the individual. Their obligation is to the people. The people

expect their offices administered in a broad and tolerant spirit for their welfare, and they have a right to expect from office holders of different parties such co-operation as will make this possible. The people send their office holders to conduct the public business, not to spend their time in personal bickerings. Unless such conduct can be secured the fears of Washington of the destruction of our institutions, through failure from factional bitterness to function, will be realized. I want to see the Republican Party remain, so officered and so conducted, that it will be free from every such imputation. I shall continue to believe this condition exists, until our opponents are able to answer our arguments rather than assail our motives.

A gigantic task lies before us. I have confidence that it will be performed because I have seen the leaders of our party disregard personal preferences, for the public good, by making mutual concessions to honest opinions, patriotically held, to secure agreement to a sound platform and the choice of a wise leader. Agreement among ourselves is a prerequisite to agreement with others, where such agreement may be necessary for the nation's welfare.

No one was denied a seat in the Republican Convention because he had voted on questions, according to his conscience, under his oath of office. There the leading forces were able to reach an agreement. When we compare this result, with the action of the directing power of the Democratic Convention toward Senator Reed, we get the most indisputable evidence as to who has been willing to compose differences and who has not. No one

has yet accused the United States Senate of ejecting Senator Reed from the San Francisco convention.

I believe in Warren G. Harding. He is too much engaged in doing good to his fellow countrymen to find time to abuse any of them, too intent on solving his country's problems to pay any attention to the abuse of others. Public information is bound to increase for him public approval. Honoring and respecting his fellow countrymen he is bound to grow in their honor and respect. A sound man tried in the fire of public service, unwarped, and unafraid. What the nation needs in an executive, it can rely on him to provide.

Our country must reconstruct itself. The prodigal wastefulness, in private life and public administration, must either cease or there will be danger of a severe economic reaction. We must have less of government interference in business and more reliance of the people on themselves. Our great war debts must be met, but by a system of taxation that rests evenly on the broad shoulders of the great public. Inequalities of taxation, laid to make the public think some one else was paying the bill, have not been a success, for the public still pays, but in a way that increases discontent and the cost of living. Let us be honest with the public. All a mighty undertaking but not impossible for a great people under wise leadership.

The times are troubled. People are in a ferment. Unrest prevails at home. Discord is too prevalent abroad. No man and no party ought to be rash enough to promise the performance of plans for long in advance. It is a time when all must feel their way from day to day. But this is no excuse for

failure to do our best. In fact it is the uncertainty, whether men will continue to do their best, that raises doubts as to the future, in the public estimation. There will be doubt, there will be hesitation, there may be local disorders, but the heart of America is sound. Her people as a whole understand and believe in her institutions, because they are their own, with a faith and a loyalty never surpassed by the people of any other country. They would not need to be urged to defend their birthright, they are looking for the chance.

There is one other lesson that has come down to us, the most important of all. While there ought to be no limit to the duty of obedience to law, there is a very distinct limit as to what can be accomplished by law, and the agency of the government. The finer things of life are given voluntarily by the individual or they are not given at all. The law can impress the body but the mind is beyond control. Discipline, faithfulness, courage, charity, industry, character and the moral power of the nation, are not created by government. These virtues the people must provide for themselves. Neither public ownership, nor any other socialistic device, can be a substitute for them. The glory of the Republican Party has been the wisdom with which it has recognized alike, the powers and the limitations, which reside in government action. In the possession of that wisdom it still continues.

You know the source of these virtues and you know their power. On them depends the decision in all elections, wherever elections result in decisions and not in accidents. The decision in this election will turn, not on an at-

titude toward world politics, but on the attitude toward the home. The wives and mothers of the land, directly or indirectly, are going to exert a mighty influence on the result of this campaign. They wait to learn to what policies and what men they can most confidently entrust the welfare and the protection of the home. They believe in patriotism and common sense. They

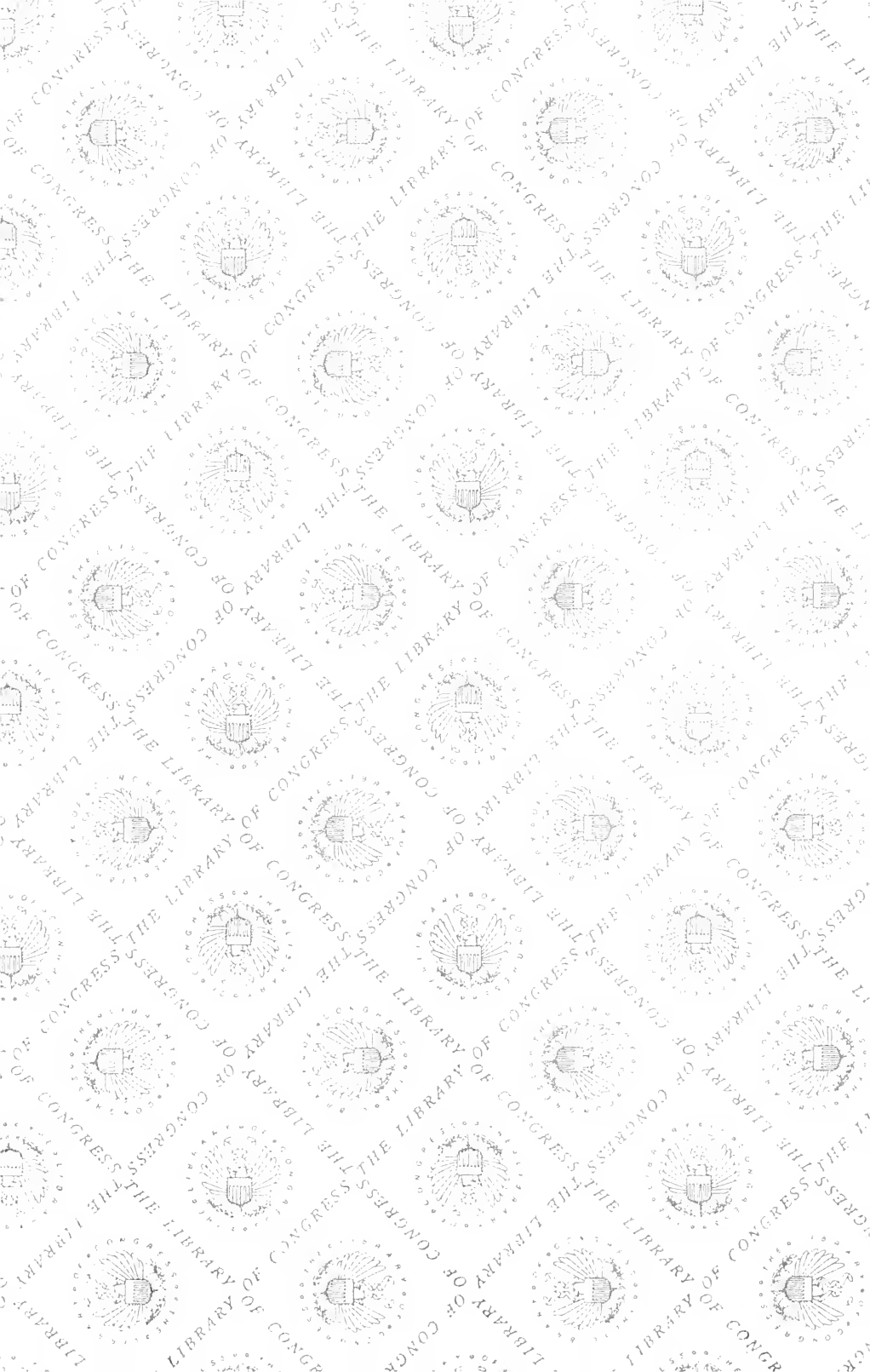
are American through and through, but there is a sympathy there as broad as humanity, which nourishes the missionary spirit. Ultimately they will make their choice, and they will make it according to the Republican standard, not in response to the inquiry "Will it pay?" but in response to that other inquiry, which searches the soul of the universe, "Is it right?"

GOD GIVE US MEN!

(by Dr. J. G. Holland)

God give us men! A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor, men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking;
Tall men; sun-crowned, who live above the fog,
In public duty and in private thinking.

For, while the rabble with their thumb-worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, Lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the Land! And justice sleeps.





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